

AGAIN IN HAWAII

Julius A. Palmer Jr.

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AGAIN IN HAWAII

BY

Autograph
JULIUS A. PALMER JR.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE "EVENING POST" OF NEW YORK

FEBRUARY-MAY 1895



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[N.B. The dated articles were telegraphed via San Francisco.]

INTRODUCTION

By the liberality and courtesy of the proprietors of the New York Evening Post, there may be found in these pages a record of the experience gained on my third visit to Hawaii. My notes on the first occasion were published by the Boston Commercial Bulletin; in December, 1893, I was engaged by the Daily Evening Transcript, and in 1895 was commissioned by the Evening Post. The first-named residence in Honolulu was years ago, before the destruction of the native monarchy: the later engagements were for three months each, one-third of which time was spent on the route. My work for the Transcript (138 pages, 8vo) was published by the same house from which this is issued; it bore no foot-notes, nor was the matter corrected to make it conformable to the march of events. Yet there has never been but one statement therein impeached with a semblance of success; this was the connection of one of the original annexation commissioners with certain investments designed for a benevolent purpose by the Queen. Had it not been for positive denial by the person implicated, the matter would have been repeated as originally stated by me on the assertion of those of whom I inquired during my latest visit. But no witness would dare to appear even indirectly in support of any assertion inimical to those in power.

This may serve as an example of the difficulty of separating fact from rumor in Hawaii; yet I have preferred to allow the present series also to go to the publishers without alterations. In the Transcript letters, the views of all parties to the present contest found expression through my articles; the royalists were satisfied that such investigation had been made with sincerity; wherever matter was reported by me contrary to their interests, they forgave that which they considered honest error on my part. But the provisionalists? No words can express the bitterness and animosity of the select, self-chosen few — still in power at Honolulu — towards any critic who presumes to speak of them and their oligarchy in other than the most flattering terms. This statement is of general application; to it there are notable exceptions, even in the number of

the nineteen men who constitute the so-called republic of Hawaii. But free speech is obliterated there; any renegade obtains immediate employment as a spy or informer; any newspaper offensive to the ruling ring can by statute law be confiscated; any alien by entering the corps whose bayonets sustain the legislators secured clothes, sustenance, and a vote; an editor entirely unacquainted with the prior condition of the nation is imported to manage their most influential journal; an army officer of similar professional antecedents is commissioned to discipline the government troops; instead of "Hawaiians for Hawaii," — one of the last public utterances of the late Gen. S. C. Armstrong, — it is an incontestable fact that ignorance of the past and allegiance to the present, and this only, can build avenues to place and preferment. Truth is the element most feared by the provisionalists, and as they are many of them able lawyers, they have little difficulty in concealing from the world all things save their own side of the case.

The contrasts between Hawaii in its past and present are painfully apparent to any visitor. The native and the missionary were once on most fraternal relations; a daughter of one of the latter told me that she always felt honored if any member of the chiefs' families noticed her in her girlhood. Until within two years there was never such an officer as a detective; now the city is full of spies and informers. There was not the least public admission that there could be war; now all the younger men of the community are fired with ambition to be sharpshooters, the sight of the repeating rifle and the sound of target practice are equally common. The military guard of royalty was the merest handful of soldiers simply for show on state occasions; the president boasts of quite an army of mercenary troops, besides which there is the militia or citizens' guard. Bayonet rule is making of the once amiable and kindly Hawaiian a morose, ill-tempered, suppressed, but not subdued, captive, hating his oppressor, and charging everything, even to the high price of taro, to the usurpers. These have done exactly the thing for which they overthrew the Queen; namely, forced a new constitution on the nation, which disfranchises all save their own party. Take this very constitution, place it side by side with a copy of that of monarchy: the latter is liberty, the one promulgated by the so-called republic is privileged despotism. The wildest extravagance of the monarchy did not equal its expenditure, which has run in debt nearly one million of dollars in the two years of its existence, in spite of the fact that it has confiscated the revenue of the crown lands reserved from all time as the private purse of the ruling monarch. As an illustration of official

misstatements, it is a fact that the Queen received from the taxpayer just about what is paid the President; yet these men tell over and over again the falsehood that she was paid eighty thousand dollars where Mr. Dole receives twelve thousand dollars; they never mention that the surplus was her private revenue, which they have confiscated.

Their most consummate success has been for over two years their management of all general despatches to the press of America and Great Britain. Not a single representative of any impartially organized news bureau has furnished intelligence to the columns of our leading journals. One association has supplied its subscribers from the statements of an ex-clergyman, born at the islands, who has had a miscellaneous experience as teacher, land-surveyor, editor, always in the narrow channel of one clique. Over his own signature in weekly newspapers, this writer has repeated the most absurdly false and scurrilous stories about the Queen, and he is also the author of like cruel remarks in regard to the humbler native people. The least personal acquaintance with the individual — now a man of some seventy years of age — would convince any one of his unfitness for the position assumed by him. The other organization has been equally unfortunate; its despatches have been furnished by recently arrived adventurers, or those connected with local papers pledged to the support of the provisionalists, never by a disinterested person of standing sent from abroad. The evil is greater than it may appear at first sight; all intelligence is virtually prepared by the very men who have since the first studiously concealed or perverted the truth; having made these two organizations their servants, they then as private citizens write the same accounts to their personal correspondents in the United States; these latter proceed to confirm individually that which is reported in the columns of the newspapers, and thus the American people are and have always been systematically and successfully deceived. A special correspondent will meet first with unremitting attention and flattery, he will be carefully guarded from any information or influence save from provisionalist sources. If this fails to direct his pen, he will then be indirectly threatened with imprisonment, fine, or deportation until he leaves.

They announced the dawn of a republic in Hawaii, whereas, as a simple fact, there has never been the least change in rule since they, by means of a reference, subsequently repudiated, obtained the entire control, and unseated their Queen. They magnified an attempt to smuggle arms into a revolution, in order to justify their action in putting a city in which there was never the least riot or disturbance under martial

law ; the latter measure was desired, that about four hundred non-sympathizers might be arrested without warrant, about one-half of whom were released after nearly two months' imprisonment, without recorded charge or attempt at trial.

They appeal to the American love of unrestricted suffrage by telegraphing far and wide the fact that the new constitution proposed by the Queen in 1893 would disfranchise them ; in other words, that she advocated for Hawaii that which obtains in every other civilized nation, namely, the limitation of the ballot to those who did not claim other than Hawaiian citizenship. Then, the moment they felt strong enough to draw a constitution, they proceeded to disfranchise forever the greater portion of the residents, especially the children of the soil. They objected to the peculiarity which allowed the throne to name its heir in case of failure in the succession, a privilege by which the Princess Kaiulani, niece of the deposed Queen, is now the legitimate sovereign. Then, in a convention having not the least popular warrant for its existence, they proceeded to name as absolute ruler for six years Sanford B. Dole, the same individual who had executed with consummate ability and commendable conservatism their will for the two previous years. They then sent word all over our land that the native people were taking the oath of allegiance, holding annexation meetings, and repudiating royalty ; in the first place, their records show that about half a dozen a week may, from desire to retain situations, swear allegiance to their white masters, that on the island of Oahu one hundred and eighty-five came in where the total male population of Hawaiians is over six thousand ; second, that none of those now registering can have the least exercise of suffrage for nearly three years ; third, that if they could, the sole treaty-making power in Hawaii is vested in Hon. Sanford B. Dole. The whole number of residents in the Hawaiian Islands may vote unanimously to-morrow for a treaty by which a return to monarchy should be guaranteed under the protectorate of a stronger power, or the same universal expression of opinion may declare in favor of annexation to the United States of America ; the senate, if it ever convenes, may ratify, the presidential cabinet may approve, but no power save the fiat of the present absolute ruler, or, in case of his death, the succeeding and duly commissioned executive of the dominant party, can ever have the power to initiate a treaty. There is probably no more perfect system of absolute despotism known to history than that of Hawaii since the dethronement of the Queen.

As there are many persons still ignorant of the history of this victory

of the strong over the weak, a brief statement of fact may properly form an introduction to this work :

From the year 1820 to the year 1887, the native monarchy was sustained by the residents of other nationalities ; at the latter date, it was practically overthrown by the same influences now in place and power ; a constitution granted by the reigning monarch in terror of his life took the place of one more favorable to his own people. Kalakaua died in 1891, and was succeeded by Liliuokalani, his sister, a lady educated as a girl side by side with the wife of Hon. Chas. R. Bishop, married to Mr. John Dominis in early womanhood, and, except during travels abroad, a resident of Honolulu during her whole lifetime. Her husband received his education at Chauncy Hall School in Boston, and a notable public position held by him was that of governor of the island of Oahu. Mr. and Mrs. Dominis lived in domestic harmony until the death of the former, which took place before the seizure of the government property by foreign residents of American ancestry. The legislative period of 1893 was marked by several measures initiated by the Queen ; those offensive to the Americans were especially the opium bill, the lottery bill, and the new constitution. The first was an adoption of the British statute for the limitation of a trade which cannot be suppressed ; the second was the proposed granting of a charter to a foreign company, by which the Hawaiian government would receive a large sum of money outright, not by means of the sale of tickets, or by any interest in the lottery, but simply for the name and the franchise. This sum was much needed for the prosecution of public works, and to ease stringency in the local circulation of money ; the measure was therefore advocated in signed petitions by the merchants and shop-keepers, and was opposed by many members of the churches. The new constitution was an abrogation of the privileges wrung from Kalakaua, the most notable of these being that peculiarity of Hawaiian law which gives to an alien the right to the ballot. Availing themselves of the Queen's attempt at arbitrary rule, the American element, in collusion with the naval and diplomatic representatives of the United States, seized the reins of power, raised the flag of their nativity over the government buildings, and declared for annexation to the American Union. This was on the 17th of January, 1893. A mission of annexation was hurried to Washington, was encouraged by the administration of President Harrison, but totally defeated on the inauguration of President Cleveland, for which the American people without distinction of party owe to the latter an eternal debt of gratitude. The Queen had submitted without

an attempt at resistance, had ordered the surrender of all arms and funds to the insurgents, on the assurance that the case would be heard and adjudicated by the United States. In conformity with this understanding, President Cleveland sent Commissioner Blount to Honolulu to make an investigation; after most thorough research this gentleman reported that the Queen should be restored to her rights, in accordance with which decision the President made a demand on Mr. Dole to submit to the result of the arbitration, which was refused by that gentleman. The Queen had been asked in private conversation by the American minister if general amnesty would follow her restoration, and she had stated in reply that she thought the property of the rebels should be confiscated and they should be punished; she was incorrectly reported by the stenographer to have used the word "beheaded," and at the very first reading of his notes, and to this day, she states that no such idea ever entered her mind; she does not deny, however, that she did wish to make such a threat as would induce these men to leave the kingdom, for the simple reason that she believed Hawaii would never have peace as long as they were an element in its politics. Both the Queen and her people never gave up the hope and expectation that the United States government would redress the wrong committed by its agency, nor is that anticipation resigned to this moment; deep in the hearts of the Hawaiian people is the firm faith that the same power by whose act their nationality was destroyed will reinstate the native monarchy. In the meantime, annexation having become more impossible every day, the insurgents were obliged to declare for some settled form of government; they accordingly adopted the word "Republic" as the most effective shield to their actions; they called what they styled a constitutional convention of self-nominated, self-chosen delegates. It convened in May, 1894, and on the 4th of July, 1894 (so as to insure a nominal salute from the guns of the men-of-war), they proclaimed a new constitution, naming Sanford B. Dole as President for six years, providing for the election of senators and representatives to a legislature to be convened in February, 1896, or about eighteen months from the date of its election. The registered voters of Hawaii numbered about 15,000, sixty per cent. of whom were natives. As no one could exercise the suffrage under the new constitution save by an oath of allegiance to the provisionalists, in other words could only vote for rulers by agreeing in advance to vote for those already ruling, the total number of registered voters amounted to one-fourth of the former registry; but the proportion is even less than that; for, during the interim from the

fall of the Queen to the reorganization of the provisionalists, a large number of aliens had been imported by them for their standing army, which is composed almost exclusively of men having no interest, historic or financial, in the welfare of the country; but by the fact of bearing arms for the maintenance of the ruling ring, each of these hirelings was entitled to a vote. The actual number of voters in the whole kingdom claiming the United States as their nativity was at the last census 637, and of American people of both sexes about 1,900, out of a population of 90,000.

In January, 1895, an attempt was made by those favorable to the restoration of the monarchy to smuggle arms, with a view of forcible resistance to the men who for over two years had retained the public treasury and the means of defence. Not the least representation had been given to the other islands during this time, and at this date (June 1, 1895) Hawaii is still ruled by the very men who unseated the Queen. The members of the original committee, augmented from thirteen to nineteen, have simply elected a substitute whenever one of their number resigned. They learned of the attempted restoration of the Queen in season to suppress the outbreak ere organization could make it formidable.

With the view of procuring for her supporters liberty, or at least clemency, the Queen at once abdicated, and took the oath of allegiance to her captors; but this design was fruitless. They organized what they called a military commission, one of the local judges resigning to preside over its deliberations, and at its close being reappointed to the court from which he had resigned. This mongrel mockery of justice and international law at once proceeded to dispose of the persons and property of all those accused of complicity in the proposed reaction in favor of traditional native monarchy, the whole domain being under martial law until after its adjudication of about four hundred cases. In the meantime the nineteen, sitting as a legislative body, had passed a large number of special statutes calculated to enforce their will against any opposition for the future, without the necessity of another declaration of martial law.

My first letter, written from San Francisco, confuses the uncompleted legislation of last year with the completed work of the present; but the laws against personal liberty are now so much more numerous and so much beyond my statement in the matter of stringency that I make no change in the paragraph.

Such is a brief statement of the events of the past two and a half years in this unhappy country, and the natural inquiry here is:

“How will it all end?”

That is the most difficult question which can be asked. The only prediction in which all agree is that there can be no stability to the present rule. How it will be merged into another, and what that other will be, — on these points there is no concord. Annexation to the American Union is farther off than ever; profits are too narrow on sugar for the planters themselves to favor the abrogation of contract labor; they cannot make any alliance with Great Britain; all threats of that are nonsense, used simply to terrify the United States into protecting the oligarchy. Should they seriously try it, and the court of St. James were willing, — both improbabilities, — what would be the result? In the first place, they must give to us one year's notice of the termination of our treaty; during that year they would be at the mercy of domestic revolution; then having made their alliance with Britain, their home products become dutiable, and this would be the financial ruin of every planter and merchant in Hawaii. They will use this scourge to bring us into line, but we must laugh in their faces and tell them to go there just as quickly as they can. Japan is the power most feared by them, and with reason; if her citizens continue to increase, and more especially if they are educated to that degree to demand suffrage, which Hawaii wishes to refuse, — the home government may enforce their claim. However effected, the accession of the Princess Kaiulani is the only avenue to peace; now that Liliuokalani has abdicated, it is the natural and proper solution of the difficulty. All that is said of unfavorable comparison between her family and that of the Kamehamehas is mere political gossip on the part of those who control the local press and foreign despatches; nothing which they say is worthy credence; it is all manufactured for attaining their ends — greed of gain and love of power. In their own histories of the great chiefs of Hawaii fifty years ago, the Kalakauas are ranked next to the family which was then reigning; Princess Kaiulani is the only representative of the royal blood, and it is just as absurd to say that she is not entitled to rule her people as it would have been in England to assume that because one royal line had failed, therefore there was no legitimate heir to the throne. As it is absolutely impossible to breathe a word against her character, her education, or her legitimacy, the only political scandal they can circulate is that of the impeachment of the right of the whole line. They dread this brave girl, because any one of the discordant elements of the community, American league, Japanese, native Hawaiians, or foreigners resisting despotic rule, would be sure of generous support by raising her standard; but it is very

doubtful whether she would return to the islands unless the call were unanimous.

In any case the policy of strict non-intervention should be followed by the United States. The most impudent assumption the world ever has seen is that of these men when they try to claim protection of their persons or property under the utterly false allegation that they are Americans; they circulate all over our land schedules showing millions of "American capital" now invested in the Hawaiian Islands, when as a matter of fact there is scarcely one dollar of American capital there. In 1876 the islands were practically bankrupt; then the action of the Hawaiian government in negotiating the reciprocity treaty, leasing to these sugar companies arable lands, importing for the planters coolie laborers, and offering them every inducement for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, raised them to untold wealth. Most of the money invested there was never exported from any part of America; it was made exactly the same as it might have been made on the coffee-plantations of Brazil or the rice-fields of Japan; it has paid to us no taxes, and is entitled to no protection. This is even less so from the citizenship of those who have amassed this property; for these so-called Americans were most of them born on foreign soil; they were educated under the flag which they have seized; they have sworn allegiance to its deposed monarchy; many of them have held prominent positions in the cabinets or councils of its kings and queens. Now that their position, by reason of their rebellion, has become somewhat dangerous, for them to call on the land of their ancestors to protect them against their surroundings is one of the most absurd and unreasonable claims ever advanced in the history of the civilized world.

Did we send naval vessels to Paris at the time of the commune for the purpose of protecting our colony at the French capital?

Yet our citizens there are guiltless of complicity in political movements, while at Hawaii they have been the initiators of revolution.

The saddest part of the story to the believer in Christianity is that it has utterly annihilated the power for good of the Protestant missions, has given them a set-back from which they will never recover. This is in no way the fault of the missionaries, who were the most self-denying and devoted of men and women, but it is an unanswerable proof of the defect of their system. What was this? Its avowed purpose was to link colonization and evangelization; in other words, to disobey intentionally the ancient dictum, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." The missionary packet of 1820 was to carry with the gospel the family,

business enterprise, and Yankee thrift. For one generation the model for native imitation did all that had been claimed for object-teaching by good example. But how about the children and grandchildren, the nephews and nieces, of those same missionaries? Their descendants were no different in principles from ministers' sons and deacons' daughters in Massachusetts. There has therefore grown up a generation whose avarice, social or political misdeeds are unjustly charged to the missionaries.

The Roman Catholic missions have not suffered, simply because with a celibate priesthood and sisterhood alike vowed to poverty, there was no temptation to acquire wealth. Further, as in our own Civil War, that church has known how to keep out of all political affiliations.

It is the largest religious body now existing in Hawaii, and is every moment augmenting its strength. It has a bishop and twenty-four clergymen, about one hundred churches or chapels, nearly two thousand school children at its schools, five hundred boys and four hundred girls at two institutions in Honolulu alone, sixteen educational institutions, and a total Catholic population by the last official directory published in the United States, of 30,000 souls. It encountered a storm of persecution ere it secured a foothold there; its missionaries were deported with a promptness and persistency, recently exhibited towards those who do not sympathize with the political opinions of the dominant party.

Yet it is too true that no form of Christianity necessarily gains that which has been lost by another. Abnegation of all religious belief is far more likely to follow; therefore every lover of the Saviour of mankind should regret the scandal brought on the name of our common Lord by the so-called "missionary-party" of Hawaii.

But while as a political party or an association the ruling ring at the Hawaiian Islands must be unhesitatingly condemned, it is still true that as individuals these very men are philanthropic, charitable, hospitable, and in devotion to the religious, benevolent, or educational needs of the nation they can rightly challenge comparison with any country in the world. From the schools for all nations established on the kindergarten system to Oahu College — this latter one of the most interesting institutions I ever visited — their zeal and liberality are shown in more ways than there is space in a political pamphlet for me to notice.

It may be asked why, as patriotic citizens of this great and glorious country, should this question be to us of consummate or vital importance. Chiefly because the avowed object of these men is to intrude themselves into our politics. They have succeeded already in doing this to an

alarming extent, and, although our long-established conservatism has been stoutly maintained, yet they have not relaxed their efforts, nor will they cease from attempting to involve us in their domestic troubles. Leave them to the settlement of their own difficulties. They have disfranchised the aboriginal people, have imprisoned their Queen, have confiscated all crown property, so that now the princess is a poor Hawaiian maid on English soil, fortunate that she is with those who love her for herself alone.

Such, alas! is but one chapter in the story of the latest of those of the world's history where the weak are dispossessed by the strong; it came even to our ancestors with William the Conqueror; it is evident in the long century of dishonor of American treatment of the native Indian; it rose towards heaven when the Sepoy was literally fired from British guns; it was the only excuse when poor Pizarro bought an iron chain with a prison-cell piled with gold; it cheered on the hosts of Cortes in his march on Mexico; but it met its defeat, this spirit of cheating the original land-owner of his holdings, when a woman, Isabella, — of pious memory, — said that the foreign race could only remain on the soil God gave the Spanish people, by being the servants and not the rulers of the people. Had the Hawaiian monarchs taken this position in the day of their grandeur, it would not have been reserved for a royal matron and a princely maiden to bear in person the agony of a nation's humiliation.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink. The name 'Julius A. Salmeron, Jr.' is written in a cursive script. The 'J' is particularly large and loops around the rest of the name. There is a double underline beneath the signature.

NO. 10 BROAD STREET,
BOSTON, June 14, 1895.

THE EXILES FROM HAWAII

SAN FRANCISCO, March 4.

THE Honolulu steamer which arrived on Saturday brought nine of those persons who preferred exile from Hawaii to the risk of trial by the existing court-martial, not a member of which tribunal is of such character or antecedents as would be approved by the men who employ its agency. The Dole government have been forced to use men and means for the suppression of the recent outbreak, and indeed since they first came into power, that personally they could only despise. Two leaders go free as a reward for betraying comrades. The light sentence of Liliuokalani — five years' imprisonment and \$5,000 fine — is in contrast to that of about ten conspirators who receive thirty-five years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine. No one suffers capital punishment. The fines can never be paid, and it is quietly said that if all will now combine for annexation general amnesty will follow, because the United States will have to keep the peace between all parties.

What to do with the Queen was a puzzle when the steamer left. She is now a prisoner of state in comfortable apartments, and by this clemency the government hopes to secure native influence for annexation. Each of the exiles was obliged to sign a paper declaring that his departure was voluntary and at his own expense, but that he could not return without permission of the minister of foreign affairs. No copy of the agreement could be obtained, not even by the deported.

Business at the islands is paralyzed. There was never known such lack of the needful things of life among the natives. Freedom of speech is abolished, and among the steamer's passengers was one lady who was glad to escape from the officers who had summoned her into their presence for openly expressing sympathy with the fallen Queen. There is reason to believe that if the government has not employed physical torture to secure evidence, it has wrung that from one prisoner which would incriminate others, by the hardest treatment and by threats.

¹ “Mr. Peter C. Jones,” so says an official despatch, “has applied to the American minister for a blank for his income return.” What a patriotic sound that has! Mr. Lodge should at once move in the Senate that the President be requested to appoint a special deputy-collector for Hawaii with functions adapted to the laudable desires of the planters that they may be allowed to help bear the expenses of our national government.

But prick the bubble and what does it contain? Mr. Jones went to Honolulu as a boy, and obtained employment in the house of Charles Brewer & Co. He is now the president of that corporation; all his money, — and he is rich, — all the capital of that company, has been wrung from Hawaiian soil under favoring laws made by Hawaiian monarchies. Immense tracts of territory, on which I have seen the upland plover as tame as the city pigeons, are practically locked up in his vaults. He is the manager of the only safe-deposit and trust company on the islands. In person he is one of the genial, agreeable, religious gentlemen who make visitors so welcome, and of whose hospitality one cannot too highly speak. But in politics his experience has been quite versatile, for he was a prominent member of the last official cabinet of “a barbarian, bloodthirsty queen.” He was also one of the first to conspire for her overthrow, and a prominent official of that early organization called the provisional government. Now, having taken a solemn oath to serve two masters, he is not quite sure that either will be able to protect him in life and property, so he offers the American republic two per cent. of his income as an insurance premium. Will Mr. Willis or Mr. Gresham take the risk? It is to be trusted that these gentlemen will refer Mr. Jones to the innumerable forms of insurance now in vogue; surely there must be some enterprising agency in New York, life, fire, explosion, or casualty, which will take Mr. Jones’s two per cent., spare us an international complication, and at the same time make a Hawaiian citizen of forty years’ honorable record under that flag perfectly safe and happy in his island home. If the people only knew how these general despatches are manufactured by the petty minority in power, they would have little faith in the attempt to use them to the discredit of the Washington administration or to the advantage of the autocratic sugar-planters.

¹ From the “Post” of March 1, 1895.

HAWAIIAN LAW

I SAW yesterday a copy of the proclamation of the President of Hawaii suspending the writ of habeas corpus. So far as this is in keeping with the persistent efforts of the ruling ring to pose for effect before the nations, it was a proper move. But there was not the least necessity for such action. This writ, the right of free speech, the privilege of being assumed innocent until proven guilty, the power to land in Hawaii, the right to reside there, were all abrogated by statute law about a year ago, and a special proviso made that if any constitutional obstacle were in the way of the execution of such statutes, the latter should take precedence of the constitution. The new constitution confirmed all acts of the provisionalists, so one may not land at Honolulu unless he can give a satisfactory reason for coming to Hawaii; after landing he may be arrested without other charge than suspicion of sedition; he may not be admitted to bail; he must prove that he is not guilty of any accusation; he may be deported, and, if he returns put at hard labor without further trial. No allusion to these laws has ever been made in the general news furnished to the world from the locality where they originated.

It is assumed that those who have just arrived here as exiles were expatriated as a war measure; in reality the Dole government has simply executed its own statute law. Hawaii is about the only nation on the globe which has always maintained a rigid passport system. This applies to alien and native alike, and is no different to-day from what it was thirty years ago. No one can leave the islands without a government passport, and any creditor can thus maintain his hold upon a debtor. Among the deported and the exiled who have just arrived on the Pacific slope were quite a number by no means clear of debts; as the ruling ring furnished them with passports contrary to the usage of a half-century or so, their creditors now hold that the treasury must pay these debts, and, what is more, the claimants are sustained by the legal advisers of the government. Thus a creditor can now, by procuring the exile of an undesirable debtor, collect the full amount of a worthless debt, or the debtor, by magnanimously favoring royalism, can

secure a free passage abroad and leave no pecuniary obligation undischarged.

The court-martial has been extremely lenient in its treatment of the poorer class of natives; twenty-one were declared "not guilty" on a single judgment, and told to go and sin no more. The condition of these once happy people is pitiable. The few things needful to sustain Hawaiian life were never so difficult to obtain. They are told that the proper remedy for their poverty is annexation to the United States. In a sense this is true. Had it not been for the courage of President Cleveland in promptly sending back the treaty designed by the preceding administration, the recent session of Congress might have accomplished even less of national importance than it did, because the great need of Hawaii is that foreign money shall be circulated there, and a well-salaried board of commissioners, composed of the sons of the missionaries, would have been by the present time paying out greenbacks for the support of some thirty thousand of the nation's new, deserving, and suffering wards. How the Republican party will enjoy, when in power, adding to the Indian appropriation and the pension list the amounts needed for the amelioration of the condition of the Hawaiian race, including a liberal provision for the leper's island! How patient our nation must learn to be, when financial or interstate questions seem to us all-important, that our domestic affairs must be laid on the table in order to give Senator Lodge time to outline his plans for the proper government of our new colonies, these islands exactly the same distance in time from our shores as Queenstown is from the city of New York.

The Dole government acted with commendable promptness in the recent seizure of arms, before those for whom they were imported had time to organize. No one regrets the clash more than the most ardent royalist. The reason of this is that the outbreak has united the factions of the dominant party at Honolulu. Some of the sugar-planters had given in their allegiance to the principles of Claus Spreckels. This gentleman has been from the first an open opponent of annexation; he simply says that its success means the abrogation of the contract system; that sugar cannot be raised at a profit under any other system of labor, if for no other reason, because at a critical moment the laborers would name a price which would have to be instantly accepted or the year's crop of sugar would be lost. Now, with that love of personal power which grows with its use, and with the fires of patriotism cooled by their experience with the Washington government, some of the sugar-

barons begin to think that Mr. Spreckels is right, and these have been called false to "our flag," which latter emblem does not mean at Honolulu the ensign under which they were born and amassed their wealth, but rather the colors borne by the missionary packet which entered the port of the Kamehamehas fifty or more years ago.

Persons of Hawaiian affiliations who dwell at San Francisco freely confess now what they were reluctant to avow a year ago, namely, that local government is an impossibility in Hawaii, that the republic so called will never elect a president; the term of the present proclaimed official will be the limit of the new constitution. "What then will be the end?" I ask it, not as an interviewer, but in social conversation with men who have held the highest of State or national offices. There is no unanimity in the replies; there was once the single word annexation. But now the solution is a United States protectorate, with Pearl Harbor strongly fortified and securely held, a joint protectorate of the older nations, union of the islands with Great Britain, voluntary on their part for self-protection, or lastly their surrender by force to Japan. A resolution favoring annexation to the American Union has just been defeated in the Senate of California.

Although the Dole government claims to have proven its inherent strength, yet it is still at a loss to know just what to do with the Queen. Nor is this perplexity confined to the royal prisoner alone. The following extract from a late editorial in the official organ shows how glad they would be to shift this responsibility on to the United States: "If Secretary Gresham will only raise 'Old Glory' over the executive building, and station a marine with a rusty musket to protect it, the country would be safe in letting every prisoner go scot-free; otherwise it will have to keep up the work of rigid prosecution until some future day when the pendulum of friendship swings this way."

To annex countries distant from our shores, where all is peace and the desire for union is unanimous, is contrary to the policy of the United States; what shall we say then to the proposition to grant the American flag to a nation where all is discord and chaos, simply because the only way a general amnesty can be declared is under the guns of our navy?

Mr. Boutelle's table of Honolulu commerce has reached this coast, and his statistics greatly flatter local pride. There is in truth one new avenue of American commerce recently opened. Three ships will carry sugar cargoes from Hawaii around Cape Horn to New York; but, alas! one of them is under British colors.

A REPUBLIC UNDER DICTATORIAL RULE

HONOLULU, March 20.

No republic whatever exists in Hawaii. The islands are still ruled by the persons self-chosen at the time of the dethronement of the Queen two years ago. Vacancies in the original nineteen are filled by elections in which associates are the only voters. All statutes are designed and enacted by the provisional government, sitting as they always have in councils. Laws are promulgated by advertisement in the daily papers over the signature of President Dole. The rulers are from Honolulu, no other place having the least representation. The legislature, elected by the suffrages of four per cent. of the population, has never been convened, although the election was held three months prior to the recent disturbances.

The nature and extent of that revolt were immensely exaggerated. It was a mere riot, only three persons in all being killed, and those by their own imprudence. Two months of the strictest martial law enabled the government to confine during that time about four hundred persons not in sympathy with the rulers. About one-half of these cases were adjudicated by court-martial, thirty persons were forced to leave Hawaii, three native newspapers were suppressed, and all connected with the opposition journal, the most outspoken, now are in prison; its plant is distrained for rent, and is advertised for auction sale. Statutes restraining personal liberty and abolishing in some cases trial by jury have been freely passed during the closing week of martial law. The President personally introduced and advocated laws for the suspension for four years of any seditious newspaper, and also for the arrest, imprisonment, or banishment of any person having intentions hostile to the government. All that was done under military rule is confirmed, and no suit for damages can be brought "for things done, omitted to be done, or which shall be done in the exercise of the recent power or authority," the exact language of the acts of oblivion and indemnity, so-called.

Certain aliens advocate the establishment here by the great powers of

consular courts, such as exist in countries where legal punishment for offences would essentially differ from the penalties imposed by civilized nations, where a jury trial is not possible.

A British war-ship has arrived and a German one is said to be on the way here.

The government is very careful not to offend Japan. Nearly one thousand Japanese have just arrived. They have increased here fifty per cent. in two years, and now compose more than one-third of the male population, or about twenty-five thousand. Most of them have received militia instruction. All are united and intensely patriotic. Three Japanese newspapers are published in Honolulu. The authorities summoned one editor, and charged him with giving an affront to the government in criticising the manner of procuring and using State's evidence. He maintained his ground, and was liberated without a formal arrest. Such has been the treatment of all natives of Japan throughout the months just passed. The poorest laborer of that nationality is safer than any other alien who does not openly sustain the government.

It is strongly advocated that the laws against seditious language be applied to correspondents, and that these be punished in Hawaii for that which is printed in America.

President Dole is far less conservative than formerly. Contrariwise, he introduces and advocates in councils the most stringent measures.

The financial report shows a public debt of nearly \$4,000,000, a nominal balance in the treasury of \$300,000. But it is said that the largest part of the available funds are deposits of planters and bankers for which certificates are issued, redeemable in silver at the pleasure of the holder, so *that* balance is an augmentation of the indebtedness. The recent troubles cost about \$100,000 in pay and sustenance of those who demanded guard duty for the greatly needed support of their families.

DEMANDS OF THE ANNEXATIONISTS

HONOLULU, March 29.

UNBROKEN quiet still reigns in Honolulu. Local business is improved by the disbursement of the pay of the home guards. The ruling powers are relaxing somewhat from their recent severity. Those connected with the suppressed newspapers have been released under detective surveillance.

An annexation meeting has just been held by the league, contrary to the desire of the ruling ring. The speakers openly advocated the overthrow of the men in power, charged them in plain words with being upheld by bayonets, declared they had impoverished the natives, protested against the recent restrictive statutes, and stated that Hawaii, having tried foreign intervention and civil war all in vain, must now rid herself of the yoke by annexation. These are the opinions of prominent half-whites, but the great mass of the natives stayed away, still hoping that Hawaiian nationality will be restored by the power which extinguished it.

From widely diverse points of view, representative men of all parties say that the present government cannot maintain itself another year, that no republic is possible, and that bayonet rule against the consent of the governed must fail, besides which there are serious financial problems unsolved. The absence of Minister Damon may portend a foreign loan.

The Queen is still treated well, but as a prisoner. She is in the executive building, is allowed attendance and private meals, and after five o'clock she can walk on the balcony. The government press gives currency to the rumor that she will be released. Her friends believe she has refused a proffered pardon unless the amnesty is made far more general.

There is much unfavorable comment on the death of Ex-Attorney-General Petersen, caused by two months' imprisonment without trial, and exile to a cold climate, although he, in common with half those arrested, took no part in the revolt.

The most exciting event has just occurred in the deportation to another

and distant island of thirty-four natives. They were educated, intelligent men, but were sent to labor with criminals on the roads, because sympathy was daily being proffered them in Honolulu. More than two thousand persons witnessed the transportation, which was closely watched by government sharpshooters in citizens' dress. Marshal Hitchcock went with them. When the steamer started, all the natives raised their voices in wild, wailing death-songs, such as have never been heard except in ancient days or at the burial of a chieftain. The prisoners sang Hawaiian hymns until out of hearing.

The restored writ of habeas corpus was first used by Japanese passengers desiring to land with that amount required in bank drafts, not coin. The decision was adverse to the Japanese, but the consul demanded the immediate collection of each draft; returning the amount to each passenger who then landed, the government yielding, as always, to the only foreign power it fears.

A general report is current that the legislature will convene in May. It must be a special session called by the President. He will do this or continue the present despotism according to the dictation, at that time, of the sugar-planters of whose organization he is simply the mouth-piece.

A new daily paper will be started immediately on the plant of the former native organ, and under the same editor. It will bitterly oppose missionary rule and the present government, and will advocate general appeal to the suffrage for the overthrow of the oligarchy. It will call on the United States to deliver the Hawaiian people from the present rulers, either by annexation or a strong protectorate, because by internal treachery and external support, America has betrayed Hawaii to her oppressors.

NO REPUBLIC IN HAWAII

MARTIAL law was declared in Hawaii on January 7th. Passes were required of all citizens found on the streets after half-past nine in the evening, liquor saloons were closed, all persons were required to deposit all their arms with the government, the courts were suspended save for civil business, the nineteen rulers gave up their assembly room for the sitting of a court-martial, and the prison was crowded with men of all nationalities arrested without warrant, and detained without specific charge or prospect of trial. On March 4th the bars were opened, on the 5th the arms were returned, and by the 18th all cases, one hundred and ninety in number, had been tried by the court-martial (adjourned *sine die*) and martial law was raised.

There was but one excuse for the existence of these two months of absolute suspension of personal liberty. It is this: Whatever is published to the world, Hawaii is not and never has been even the semblance of a republic; it is exactly the same military despotism which it was the week after the Queen's dethronement; only this and nothing more. The riot at Waikiki, occasioned by the desire of the native party to import arms, all those formerly owned by them having been surrendered in January, 1893, was most eagerly embraced by the ruling ring as the opportunity for which they had long waited to give their opponents a renewal of an ancient precedent known in France at the close of the last century.

On July 4, 1894, taking advantage of the fact that public salutes would be given to the dawn of America's Independence Day, with that pretension which has characterized every public act of this oligarchy, they announced to the world the evolution of the Hawaiian republic, terrorizing the natives by the guns of the men-of-war saluting in Honolulu harbor, appealing to the sympathies of the civilized world by sending broadcast copies of a document called the Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii. They went through the farce of an election, and

sent abroad a list of nominally chosen legislators. Note well, this was nearly one year ago, when the Queen was urging her partisans to abide by the decision of the United States, in whose mediatory offices she had never for a moment lost her faith.

Having done this, the self-chosen nineteen arranged their comfortable chairs around the deliberative halls, and sat there, drawing fat salaries, making restrictive laws, commissioning foreigners as consuls of the republic, importing munitions of war, besides spending leisure moments in figuring up the probable profits on sugar, or the effect of a private letter to an Eastern friend on such topics as would help their allies in our national Congress. Every statute is still designed, debated, passed, or rejected by the original provisional government which wheedled the the Gatling guns from the Queen. This has never been otherwise.

Do they publish this to the world? Oh, no, nor did they ever tell the story of the brave man, namely, Marshall Chas. B. Wilson, who held possession of the royal arsenal two years ago while they were quaking in a committee-room; who refused for twenty-four hours to entertain any proposition from them; who finally said that only on the autograph order of his Sovereign would he surrender as much as a cutlass; or that they then commissioned one of their own number to obtain this precious bit of writing, afterwards repudiating their contract of reference to the arbitration of the United States.

But it is useless to write of the past; there is enough in the present. The royalist rising has been greatly exaggerated. It was in truth but a riot, occasioned by the wish of one party here to arm their adherents, with a view of final appeal to the court of last resort, namely, war. United States Minister Willis has earned the heartfelt gratitude of the suspects. On one day these were not given their usual turn in the jail-yard, being kept securely locked in their cells. They were informed that a vigilance committee was on the way out to shoot all, without even the pretence of trial. To this day it is asserted that only the great activity of Mr. Willis and the fortunate arrival of the "Philadelphia" prevented this general slaughter.

Besides enabling the rulers to handle their opponents by a court-martial composed of irresponsible persons, no one of whom would be invited by any of them as a guest into their families, a number of offices were created, about \$100,000 put into circulation for the pay of citizens' guard, and a newspaper always distasteful to their party was suppressed. This was the native organ, and was published daily in both languages.

There are in Honolulu three Japanese and two Chinese papers, weekly or semi-weekly. On the 16th the editor of one of the former was summoned by the attorney-general, his offence being stated as "giving affront to the government." He is one of its adherents and an employee at the Custom House. But he is brave and outspoken — a characteristic of all the subjects of Japan in Hawaii. He criticised the course of the government as to the court-martial, especially as to its methods of securing evidence, its release of the greatest criminals as a reward for their treachery to their associates, and used as applicable to the ruling ring a word which the official translator told their attorney meant "crime." Now to insinuate against these patriots any crime is a felony. Mr. Hoshina, therefore, is endeavoring to soften the signification of the offensive word, and at this writing the patriots and the editor are trying to compromise on "transgression." Doubtless Mr. Hoshina will be dismissed with the mildest of reproofs. Why? Because the gunboats of the Japanese empire are but ten days distant. It was very remarkable that no person of that nationality was in the least molested in the late unpleasantness; the reason for this will appear in this correspondence.

But this case and others like it occasion a clamor for the general issue of search warrants into the opinions of government employees. This is not rumor: it has already taken the form of petitions to the government, and the leading editorial in the provisionalist newspaper advises the petitioners to make their demands more emphatic. The necessity for this inquisitorial process is conceded; the only question is how to apply it. The mildest and most reasonable measure seems to be the following — there are at least four organizations here the members of which voluntarily subscribe to long paragraphs extolling the patriotism of those in power, execrating barbarian queens and heathen practices, and clinching their denials of all aboriginal rights by demanding annexation to the United States. Then there is the standing army, composed almost exclusively of soldiers of fortune, who have recently arrived and care nothing about matters at issue save as these affect their sustenance, — a most important point, to be sure, for without government rations they would relapse into their normal and needy condition. To these may be added the citizens' guard, composed of residents who may be summoned on emergency. It is urged that every person be required to join some one of these organizations, and that all persons in public employ who have not complied with this requisite be summarily discharged.

The question of the revival of the native or royalist press, after the expiration of martial law, is settled by an act introduced by President

Dole himself, which gives to the government the power to suspend any offensive newspaper, or any new journal started in place of such newspaper, for a period not exceeding four years. Verbal offences may be regulated in future by the act against persons suspected of lawless intentions, as well as that against sedition.

Coming now to the attitude of Japan and the position of the Japanese, I am free to confess that the matter demands more study than as yet it has been in my power to devote to it. On the 14th a German steamer landed about eight hundred more Japanese. In two years they have increased fifty per cent. on the islands, or say from sixteen thousand to twenty-four thousand. These figures are moderate. One-third of the male population of Hawaii is Japanese. They are not serfs. Each man is a patriot. At the opening of the war with China a voluntary contribution was made by her children here to their mother-country. Small sums from the laborer in the sugar field, generous subscriptions from the merchants, raised this to nearly \$100,000. The home government received it with thanks for the intention, but sent word that the treasury had ample means for carrying on the present war, and that it would be devoted to hospitals. Many, some say all, of these laborers have received training in the militia of their country. They are usually accompanied in coming to this country by a class called free steerage passengers. This term is applied to those who pay their own passage-money, have \$50, and are not under contract. Many of these latter are wealthy men, from the student, military, or professional classes. They cling closely together; they resent the least repression of personal liberty. The government is fully persuaded that to touch the lowliest native of Japan is perilous. Thus is seen the strange anomaly in alien residence: Persons claiming American or European protection are marched to prison — “Nature of offence left blank” is the official entry; but in the recent outbreak by chance there were two Japanese in official clutches. The report spread among their countrymen like wildfire, and a deputation visited the station-house; the men were freed. At a national anniversary not long since, a party of Japanese, marching through the streets, halted in front of the royal residence, and gave three cheers for the queen. The provisionalists were wild with rage; they waited on the Japanese minister, but he declined to offer the least satisfaction. One in strong sympathy with the American annexation movement has just remarked to me: “Each native of Japan in Hawaii carries a chip on his shoulder, and is daring President Dole to knock it off.” There is some truth in this assertion.

By the constitution a president is to be elected in A.D. 1900, and the next legislature in 1897. Whenever a member of the councils has been for any cause out of office, his associates or the other eighteen have filled the vacancy. This has been the rule since the queen's dethronement, and those who claim to predict the future say that it will inevitably be so until Mr. Dole knocks off that chip, and then Hawaii will be just as inevitably a part of the Japanese empire, always presuming that American annexation has failed.

HAWAIIAN PROBLEMS

THE remarks of a prominent member of Plymouth Church in relation to the Hawaiian missionary republic excited both interest and indignation here — interest on the part of those who believe that there has been since the first a systematic fraud perpetrated on the people of the United States, and indignation on the part of those who have the control of the local press, the courts, the jails, and at whose dictation every general despatch read by the American people has been for over two years prepared. Those in sympathy with the sentiments of Mr. Shearman declare that if during the period last named such a critic as he had been resident at Honolulu, so that the world could have been intelligently and correctly informed on all matters pertaining to these islands, the attitude of the great powers towards Hawaii would be very different from that which it has nominally, and as if by sufferance, become. Those who repel his statements as libellous confine their remarks chiefly to the notice of his errors in facts. Thus, there are not 100,000 Mongolians here, but at the most about 40,000; an entire island is not devoted to the lepers, but only a certain district of Molokai; while it is true that no Protestant minister has ever devoted his life to the sufferers, it is also a fact that chaplains of the Congregational Church have been from time to time resident at the settlement. These mistakes are noted with the greatest eagerness by the advocates of the missionary party. That term is a misnomer, because most of the actual ruling ring have had nothing to do with missions or missionaries. Yet it has become historical, and in treating of Hawaiian affairs it can scarcely be avoided. After restraining curiosity as long as possible the address of Mr. Shearman was printed in full by the most prominent provisionalist newspaper in Honolulu.

Of one thing both sides are certain: Had Mr. Shearman been a visitor in this city when he uttered those words for publication at Brooklyn, he would have been arrested and prosecuted the moment that any copy of

his address found its way back to Honolulu. There are two provisions of recent Hawaiian law under which such proceedings can be at any moment initiated against an alien and a correspondent; these are the articles in the constitution for the punishment of any person who shall be guilty of contempt of the legislative body, even although not a member of that body, and, second, the statute enacted against the making and publishing of libellous or seditious matter. Much discussion has taken place among members of the present government as to the feasibility and advisability of applying these restrictive measures to an alien visitor. There is a most decided determination on the part of those in power to repel the least unfair criticism or misrepresentation of their official acts or public reputation, and they assume the privilege of defining what may constitute such an offence. Those who do not sympathize with such a determination ask how it can be reconciled with the claim that the government is abundantly able to maintain itself against internal dissensions.

"He proposes to regulate our affairs, does he?" say the indignant missionaries' sons.

"Oh, no," replies one of the opposite party; "neither Mr. Shearman nor any person of his way of thinking has the least desire to meddle in your domestic affairs. But we do not mean that you shall intrude yourselves into ours; this you announce as your intention, and it is only just that the American people should be fully informed as to the character of the community which seeks to enter the Union. Has not a parent the most indisputable right to the fullest information as to the record or character of the man who seeks an alliance with his daughter?"

It must in truth be said that the annexation sentiment is weakening in the homes of the sugar-barons. "Why," said one of them to his associate recently, "why advocate annexation, when the consequent destruction of the system of contract labor will annihilate all profits from the plantations?"

"I agree perfectly with you," replied his partner. "I know that when we get the United States flag and the bounty on sugar is abolished, we shall make no more money; but I will gladly resign all hope of future accumulation in that case, because I shall be sure to keep what I already have."

The urgency and difficulty of race problems and considerations of finances are now under discussion. The honesty and capability of Minister Damon are never questioned, but, has he said to his associates in the cabinet: "Appropriate what you will, but remember the treasury

can pay out no more money for the present"? Is it then any more than a rumor that by means of the deposits of silver, the issue of certificates and treasury notes, an occasional purchase of some \$20,000 of Hawaiian bonds or deposits in the government postal savings bank, the opulent citizens have bled for their country's cause to universal faintness, and consequently that the object of the departure of Minister Damon for San Francisco on the 20th was that he might show to the world how much better terms than those accepted by President Cleveland could be made with foreign money-lenders? The only reason publicly assigned was that of a personal consultation with Mr. Charles R. Bishop, for some forty years the leading island banker, but since the dethronement of the Queen living generally at San Francisco, and in private business a partner of Mr. Damon.

The contrast between the official treatment accorded to Japan and China is strongly marked. Among recent enactments is one making the exclusion act aimed at the Chinese far more stringent. As at present constructed, it prohibits the entry of any person of that nationality without special permit of the Board of Immigration. This is rarely given save on declaration of the applicant that he proposes only to be a domestic servant or an agricultural laborer; even then \$1.50 a month must be deducted from his wages for the purpose of paying his way back to China; should he leave the two above-mentioned avenues of employment, he may be at once deported. This severity is meted out to the Chinese to satisfy the American League, which is thought by many to be the most formidable enemy with which the government is obliged to contend, because it is nominally of its own household, but composed of illiterate men without large estates, who magnify the least aid or support rendered to their wealthy rulers, demanding an equal division of the offices and the spoils.

The prominent members of this organization begin to suspect the sugar-barons of lukewarm adhesion to the cause of annexation, so just on the eve of the departure of this mail is held an annexation meeting, the speakers being chosen from all classes. Those not in sympathy with the league, yet supporting the government, point to the fact that no more inopportune moment could have been chosen, for such reports of despotism, military tribunal, forcible exile, suppression of a free press, and statutory restraint of opinion have gone abroad that no civilized people, in the ordinary exercise of good judgment, could desire closer union with powers responsible for such a government. The adherents of government say further that the moment is specially ill-chosen, because the

Washington Congress, towards which from the first the provisionalists have looked not in vain for their most valued defender, has now adjourned. But the temptation to pose for effect upon foreign nations by sending forth an account of a mass-meeting is not to be resisted; the Democracy say that their lordly rulers have done this from the very first, and give as the latest instance the recent abolition of martial law on the very day of the departure of the last steamer.

Some disappointment has been said to exist in government circles at the small proportion of volunteers who came forward in the recent emergency. The male population of Honolulu, excluding Mongolians, is about 10,000; the citizens' guard, increased by loyal recruits, turned out at the most with 1,200 men. By this it would appear that the militia on emergency numbers say one in twelve of the male population, but as most of this 1,200 were recent arrivals who needed the wages, or those who have little at stake, the number of actual patriots willing to risk life for Hawaii is reduced to a minimum. As a consequence, there is now undertaken a most searching inquisition into the sentiments of those persons employed by the government, but who rendered it no aid in its hour of terror. This is called by the official organ of the rulers "the black list," and it is probable that all those who believe too much or too little in regard to the republic, and so hesitated to rush to its defence, will no longer eat at its tables.

An election is ordered to fill the seat of Mr. C. L. Carter, killed in the recent trouble, and it was probable that another member of the same family would be chosen, but he declined to run. A member of the advisory council being permanently out of the country, it is urged that his seat be filled. The first-named polls will be open to those entitled to vote under the new constitution. The latter choice, if made, will be by the men who in 1892 succeeded royalism. The councils are the governing power of the nation. There are those of undoubted loyalty who say that the legislature will never be convened. The constitution does not indicate any period for it earlier than February, 1896. From those who know the minds of the rulers comes to me the same intelligence that I gleaned in San Francisco, namely, that it is impossible from every point of view for Hawaii to maintain her present status for one year to come. By distinct and different chains of reasoning, the experience of the past year has caused each thinking man to arrive at this conclusion.

HAWAIIAN DISCONTENT

EACH breath of the trade-wind which blows across these beautiful islands is charged with rumor. To listen on the street corner, or take notes where men do congregate, were one moved by such evidence, is to be convinced that the revolution is yet to come. The few natives who made the recent riot were only so many schoolboys who shook the tree before the pear was ripe.

More and more leniency is shown to Liliuokalani; she is now allowed to walk through the grounds of what was once Iolani Palace, providing her promenades are not taken before four in the afternoon, and are limited by a radius terminating at one hundred feet from the open grating of the fence. Her friends believe that nothing less than pardon or permission to return to her private residence has been offered to her, but she has not only refused, but has dared her captors to send her to share the imprisonment or exile of her adherents, adding that she would willingly go into durance, or accept general amnesty, whatever might be the universal fate. It is not the Queen as a person which constitutes the menace to the peace of Hawaii. The case is this: For seventy years royalty has been the basis of union to all parties in these islands. It is the loss of any point of union which now precipitates anarchy.

To state briefly the position of each one of the elements governed by the nineteen men in power; — those of the native race have a feudal or tribal pride in the consciousness of possessing a chief of their own color; is this not true with other aboriginal peoples? The Arab sheik or Indian sachem may be a savage, but could you supplant his authority with that of a philanthropist? The Chinese owe their Hawaiian prosperity to the monarchy. For the two years just passed, the existing government has been forced to curb this prosperity in order to placate a large middle class of whose support their oligarchy had dire need. Ignorance exaggerates its own importance, so that now large numbers of men of this class, to each of whom the sugar-barons handed a musket during the

late disturbance, clamor for their share of the victors' spoils. Each man assumes that Mr. Dole would not be President to-day had it not been for his individual aid. The Japanese are sensitive to the least offence, and care not how soon a national quarrel is provoked. The better class of Europeans are disheartened at the scarcity of money and the insecurity of investments, and, whatever may be their politics, these make no secret of their hope for the permanent protection of some one of the great powers.

The vexed question of annexation to the American Union presents great perplexities. Whether or no the powers that be still wish for this as their first choice is now a secret known solely in their conclaves. It has been discovered that only the President individually can make a treaty to this end; that not only the people, but even the Senate, should it ever convene, have absolutely no voice in the matter, the new constitution leaving it entirely with the individual who has been the supreme power since the fall of the monarchy. This power is exactly that against which the American League is opposed, nor do the speakers accredited by the latter in the least disguise their intention to rid the country of what they style "missionary rule." No visitor would dare to use such language in public as was spoken a few days ago at a mass meeting held under the auspices of this organization. There were two noted half-whites engaged as speakers, both of whom expressed the most open hatred to the present rulers, described the attempts that the nation had made to throw them off, and recommended annexation as a last and necessary resort. Through circulars distributed by the city police, the authorities warned the natives to stay away from the meeting, and from one motive or the other, fear or loyalty, this command was quite generally obeyed.

Insanity is said to have resulted in two instances where men have presumed to unravel the government accounts, and from personal experience one may readily believe it. By the latest statement the gross debt is \$3,635,475.36, having increased in one week \$16,850. Deducting from the above \$711,200.27, this amount being the sum due under the postal savings bank act, the national debt has increased from March 31, 1892, to the present date, \$610,275.09. Under the last statement made by the monarchy, the postal savings bank was in a most flourishing condition; its deposits were \$949,049.16, this large sum being divided among depositors of every race and almost entirely of moderate means. From lack of confidence or kindred causes, the demands on the government were enormous, and amounted to little short of \$400,000 in one bien-

nial period. How, then, does it happen that the diminution to-day (while the drain still goes on) is insignificant? By official statement at this time there is but \$133,793.99 in cash in its vaults, of which \$47,331 is awaiting maturity notice of withdrawal. The government has borrowed of its supporters large funds for which it has given notes signed by the postmaster-general, so that now there is no way of distinguishing between creditors and *bona fide* depositors. What is true here is true in other departments. For example, there was due to the firm of Spreckels & Co. \$95,000, for which his bank made peremptory demand. It was paid, but the treasury did not pay it; it secured its friends, and these still hold that identical claim. Such transfers seem to be the rule rather than the exception, and it would appear that without foreign relief they must continue. For there will be no income of moment received until the December taxes are paid. The official expenses, including interest, are about \$150,000 a month. The available cash, excluding special funds and silver certificates, is \$173,351.43, having decreased \$66,000 the past week. There is a large bills-payable account which appears nowhere in any public statement. The charge that silver is sometimes borrowed from the deposits is doubtless false. But accounts are probably paid by bonds, there being large numbers of these afloat of small denomination. The inquiry naturally arises, if the government is in good credit and can readily dispose of its bonds at par, why does it not do so and fill its treasury? The mystery of Hawaiian government bonds is yet an enigma; these appear and disappear in the official papers in a manner unexplainable by the present writer. About \$1,000,000 of the bonded debt was placed ten years ago in London, and Great Britain is probably a creditor to a somewhat larger amount this day.

This brief review of Hawaiian finances may aid the speculative in predicting the attitude of that power in case of further complications at Honolulu. The sum of \$50,000 was recently raised by a transaction which might excite criticism in view of the missionary antecedents of the men who did it, and their severity on the British system of opium license when the latter was proposed by the Queen. All the opium confiscated was offered for sale, and the Chinese merchants of Honolulu were invited to bid. As no bid of sufficient amount was received, it was exported by the government and sold at British Columbia, realizing the sum named. Higher education in the islands has hitherto been in denominational hands, Catholic, Protestant, and Anglican. Some \$20,000 for the coming biennial period may be saved by the clause in the constitution which forbids such aid in future.

One of the schemes on foot to pledge the government to annexation and also to plunder the American people is this: There is a railroad now built to Pearl Harbor; it is the only one in Hawaii, is about fifteen miles in length, with possible additions of a few miles from time to time, as it is to be extended around the island of Oahu back to the point of departure. The latest move is to get the Hawaiian government to guarantee \$2,000,000 of its bonds, on the representation that this nation will never have to pay them, that by union with us these obligations will go into the national debt of the United States, and that thus this advantage will be gained at the expense of the American people.

How far the rumors of interference by Japan as the tool of Great Britain are the result of the return of Minister Thurston can be as well established in New York as in Honolulu. It must be remembered that British interference or even influence is the whip by which Hawaii proposes to scourge the United States until the latter promises to accede to any demands of the little oligarchy. The strained relations consequent on the Thurston incident are thought by many to be a favorable moment for an attempt at coquetry with the court of St. James. The fact, however, that Great Britain, France, and Japan, since Hawaii advertised the republic, have reduced their diplomatic representatives here from the rank of minister plenipotentiary to that of commissioner, ranking as consul-general, does not look as though much consideration could be expected from the great powers. In both government and diplomatic circles general ignorance of the causes of the recall of Minister Thurston is assumed in communicating alike with friend or foe, but the news created the greatest excitement. There are those who believe that the select few in power have known all about it for the past month, and that this was the cause of the recent enactment and reënactment of rigorous laws. To return to martial law would be to risk further rupture of diplomatic relations, and give the great powers renewed excuse for terminating the same. But the world may be possibly kept in ignorance of the fact that all which has been done by the military in restriction of personal liberty can be done at any moment by the government without advertising its despotism to its sister nations.

MINISTER THURSTON'S RETURN

HONOLULU, April 4.

THE all-absorbing topic here is the return of Minister Thurston, which is expected four days from this date. Those who have known him since his boyhood, whatever their politics now, express surprise that he has retained his official position so long. Such persons say that he has not the delicacy nor the manners of which diplomatists are made. The government officially profess to know nothing more than that he is assuredly on the way home, but it is more than surmised that the select few were warned of the recall about a month ago. The wish was general that it might not be so. Therefore it was kept secret.

"He will make more trouble at home than abroad," said some. "Why can he not have a mission to Timbuctoo?" said another.

A grand ball and reception were given to Minister Willis on board the "Philadelphia." It was set for the very day on which the news about Thurston arrived, and those connected with the government who attended could be readily identified by their gloomy air and confidential conclaves. They are still in a quandary as to what to do with the Queen, and are in almost equal perplexity as to the deposed minister. Having formally abdicated, it is said that Liliuokalani is now entitled to the same respect, title, or position as that accorded to other retired monarchs; that official rank ceases with office, royal rank with life. The republic has acknowledged this precedent in regard to Kapiolani, the Queen dowager.

The leading editorial in the government organ to-day labors for a column to prove that Hawaii is a republic in spite of its despotic laws and oligarchical rule, both of which are acknowledged. Two columns were recently devoted to citing international precedents for deportation.

England, France, Japan, and perhaps other powers, have within one year reduced their official representatives here from minister to consul-general, and the United States has raised the rank of its consul, to act in case of the absence of Minister Willis. It is just hinted that this

was done by the Washington administration in order to provide for the permanent neglect to appoint any successor in the event of the retirement of the American minister. Mr. Willis understands the situation, and it would be a great mistake to supplant him by any other diplomatist. It would be far better for all interested to follow the example of the three above-mentioned powers.

The next question of interest is the proposed convening of the legislature in May, complicated anew by the Thurston incident. If not called together, the effect on the great powers abroad and the other islands here would be disastrous to the nineteen rulers. It will be known that the provisionalists are still absolute rulers, and there are many domestic affairs relating to other islands on which the actual residents are restless. But if convoked, dissensions are sure to multiply, for it is openly proposed to repeal all the restrictive laws of the past year, and President Dole cannot stand before the Assembly, as he has repeatedly done of late, and control legislation by argument and personal influence.

The national debt has been increased \$600,000 and the savings-bank deposits decreased \$400,000 since 1892. The community is in a state of tension, and countless rumors are afloat, but with no apprehension of an armed outburst for the present.

THE HAWAIIAN OLIGARCHY

HONOLULU, April 13.

THE only legislative assembly ever qualified by the present government, namely the very men who two years ago seized power and proclaimed themselves rulers, has just decreed the pardon of Ashford, a distinguished royalist. It was with difficulty that he was convicted, and the release was conditional on perpetual exile. The motive was to avoid odium like that consequent on the death of Ex-Attorney General Petersen, for Mr. Ashford is dying.

The results of the inquisition into the sentiments of all government employees have been reported to the council, and sweeping discharges are to be made.

There is not an atom of truth in Mr. Thurston's assertion that the natives are taking the oath of allegiance. By the official records five or six a week may do this. They do so from interested motives. Five thousand or six thousand on this island alone must come in. On Hawaii, largest island, Marshal Hitchcock is unable to convince the natives that the Queen has abdicated. Her act made no difference in the native loyalty to the monarchy in Honolulu. She was deceived by the same tactics as those employed at her dethronement. Her sole purpose was to save others from punishment. She was absolutely indifferent to her own fate, and, greatly to the disgust of her captors, continues so.

For the first time in the island's history, a subscription relief is asked, this being for families of political sufferers among the natives. No almshouse ever existed here, and the government has granted an unused shed for shelter. Sympathy for those in convict dress is forbidden. These work on the roads, and women are reprimanded for recognizing them, even the Queen being told not to sit at her window as they pass by.

Excessive timidity characterizes every public act of the government, and race questions are giving the nineteen rulers and the two per cent. of so-called Americans, who support them, much trouble. Twenty-four

hundred aliens have arrived in three weeks, divided among Japan, the Azores, and China. A general registry of all persons and a stay of foreign immigration is advocated.

Even the better class of European residents are much offended because an official tax-list has just been advertised in a Chinese newspaper to save a trifling expense. To placate critics, the government has dissolved the Chinese fire company and has thus aroused the enmity of the merchants of that race, as it was one of the most efficient for their protection.

The citizens' guard has refused to recognize the clause imposed by the rulers, that the volunteers shall submit to martial law in the case of charges against a member. The government was forced openly and fully to recede from this, so that discharge from service constitutes the sole discipline.

Mr. Thurston arrived to-day. Never was a person more unwelcome politically. There is literally none so poor as to do him reverence. The last importation of Portuguese, who cost about \$300 a head, or \$25 a month to planters, was, it is said, a political move of his initiation, for the purpose of advertising white immigration. Even his friends accuse him of bringing the government into disgrace at Washington at the most critical moment of the existence of the so-called republic of Hawaii.

THE HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT

WERE an observer to be asked to name an element which is characteristic of the Hawaiian government, of the individuals composing and sustaining it, and of this community at the present moment, he might truthfully reply, timidity; were he inclined to be discourteous, he would substitute the word cowardice.

In the course of the past three weeks emigrant steamers have landed at Honolulu about 2,400 aliens; these came from Japan, the Azores, and China; in numbers, more than a third from the first-named country, or say, in round numbers, 1,000, 800, and 600. None of these were wanted. A like proportion of immigrants, ignorant of the laws, the language and customs of the nation, brought by interested parties to the State of New York, might justly alarm economists. Why then did these come? The treaties with Japan render her a favored nation; it is for her interest to ship off her surplus population, and the commission house here makes its profit on every ship and its passengers; the immigration commissioners simply cannot interfere, and although local journalists cry aloud that responsibility for this latest arrival should be traced and strong admonition given, nothing prohibitory results. The latest importation of Portuguese was a political move, under Mr. Thurston's advice, to curry favor with those here who oppose the Chinese, and also to pose before the world as a country encouraging white immigration. It has been with difficulty that the shipments from Japan and the Azores were placed on the plantations; the Chinese with accustomed shrewdness take care of themselves and of each other; the government has the least to fear from immigrants of this nation; yet, strange to say, they alone give bonds for an ultimate return to the land whence they came.

Those best informed do not confirm the favorable opinion held by the people of the United States as to the Japanese. The upper classes are crafty, deceptive, destitute of all constancy to the principles of integrity and business honor. The common laborers are sensitive to the least affront, real or fancied, quick-tempered, prompt to avenge an insult,

almost implacable if excited, holding the lives of others very cheaply. They are united, and for this reason are ready to adopt the trades-union principle of strikes. This is a formidable weapon on an isolated plantation, and on a recent disagreement the proprietor of such a one owed the safety of his family and his own life to the fact that while 500 Japanese were maintaining the attitude of menace, a hundred native Hawaiians were in reserve ready to initiate a petty war of the races at an instant's warning. It was a great mistake to substitute this people for the thrifty and amiable Chinaman. None better know this now than those who catered to senseless prejudice for the sake of a brief popularity. The natives of Hawaii and of China fused admirably, intermarried, and enriched the land; Hawaiians and Japanese are antagonistic; if anything would rally the former to the support of the present government, it would be the threatened subjection of these islands to the empire of Japan.

While the introduction of the Portuguese was a measure in favor of the permanent settlement of white emigrants, yet the results foreshadow as much danger as support to the ruling ring. They are intensely jealous of the two Mongolian races, and will refuse to work if any Japanese or Chinese are conjointly employed. They demand superior treatment, together with suffrages and privileges such as are granted to others of European lineage.

Although the government announces to the world that the attempt at resistance by the natives is overwhelmingly suppressed, yet it is an open secret here that very little of the munition of war smuggled into the country was found. A very recent incident shows how the rulers dread a gathering of the ruled. The body of Ex-Attorney-General Petersen arrived here for interment. As he was considered a martyr to the native cause, a large number of Hawaiians wished to do him honor by attending his funeral. Not the least intimation of the ceremony, either prior thereto or thereafter, appeared in any newspaper. Further, his family were warned that the burial must take place with promptness, that it must be strictly private, and that no crowd or display would be permitted. When those interested inquired about the hour of the funeral, it was discovered that the soil of Hawaii already lay lightly on his coffin.

The avenues of employment are almost entirely under the control of the government or individual members of it. The latest meeting of the councils was nothing less than a high court of inquisition; there was no attempt to disguise this fact, nor to conceal the names of those who had done or said too little or too much. The question of convocation of the legislature is still undecided, so that the anomalous position is maintained of the old provisionalist councils and an elected assembly coex-

isting, and many believe that the former do not dare to dissolve, leaving deliberative legislation to those chosen six months ago for this very purpose. The policy of the executive in this respect must be declared within thirty days.

There is one phase of the Hawaiian question of which little notice has yet been taken; this is surprising when there are so many American writers of the sex of the deposed Queen. Either in public or in private life the Hawaiian people might serve as examples of love and loyalty to the gentler sex; the native of humble birth gladly gives a mortgage which he knows will never be paid, in order to gratify some caprice of his sweetheart. The central point of union to all parties in Hawaii has ever been devotion to the native monarchy, and even where the crown was worn by a king, there has been an undercurrent of chivalric love for the feminine consort. Obliteration of this basis of concord is the cause of to-day's anarchy, and the missionary party are chiefly blamable for its destruction.

Emma and Liliuokalani were both educated, gracious, upright, Christian women, such being the estimate of all their subjects during a half-century. From childhood to past their fiftieth year none of their recent detractors dissented. But after the death of her husband and ten years of retirement, Emma was a candidate for the throne. Her reputation was above attack, but it was said that strains of English blood ran in her veins; she had visited London, she had been attracted by the worship of the Anglican church, had introduced it to Hawaii, and both she and her husband were communicants. For such cause, and no other, her enemies, by a series of disgraceful acts, defeated the will of her people, and by notable fraud placed a man on the throne by displacing a woman, who accepted the undisguised wrong with a resignation maintained to her dying day. Soon those who boasted that Kalakaua had been seated on the throne by them professed great indignation that the creature was not more obedient to the creator. Although they raised an arm to strike, yet the man's government was not overthrown. But silent conspiracy found expression in January, 1893, when they borrowed our troops under pretext of keeping order, made a contract of arbitration afterwards repudiated, and thus deprived his sister of her throne and his niece, Princess Kaiulani, of her inheritance.

Walking along the public streets the other evening, my attention was involuntarily attracted to the conversation of two Hawaiians of humble birth, who were discussing, sometimes in their own language, again in ours, the political situation. Finally from their lips fell the emphatic words, twice repeated, "Oh, their day will come!"

EVENTS AFTER MR. THURSTON'S RETURN

HONOLULU, April 18. (*By Schooner Aloha.*)

MINISTER THURSTON'S statement that his return was not hastened by diplomatic differences is not sustained by facts. When President Dole returned from his vacation to meet him, the two were closeted for a protracted interview, but all information on the subject is still denied to the public.

Mr. Damon, minister of finance and a leading banker here, met his partner, Mr. Bishop, and Mr. Thurston, in San Francisco, for a conference of the three. No man ever did more for Hawaii than Mr. Bishop, yet since the troubles he has resided in California, and now withdraws his name from the bank he founded forty years ago, confirming the general opinion that, without the military and financial interposition of a stronger power, government without the consent of the governed cannot endure. Mr. Damon and Mr. Thurston returned together by the latest steamer, and it is hinted that the former may surrender the portfolio of finance, which would be a misfortune.

Ashford, a royalist, has placed his oppressors in a dilemma by refusing the acceptance of their pardon. Policemen were detailed to guard his sick-bed. He was a confidant of the very men now in power when, eight years ago, they overthrew the authority, although not the throne, of Kalakaua. When their purpose was accomplished against a woman's right to rule, both the Ashfords declined joining, and their former associates hoped to permanently exile them.

Secretary Gresham's letter to Mr. Jones gives great satisfaction save to partisan sympathizers and the gentleman himself, because his timidity in assisting the treasury financially, and avoidance of personal peril, as well as his sworn allegiance to both the Queen and the President, are notorious facts.

For two years the Queen's band of musicians have refused allegiance to the government, and this disloyalty continues. At their public concert recently, over two thousand persons were present. A prior enter-

tainment, given by the musicians organized by the government, was attended by about one hundred. Such is the universal contrast.

A naval officer recently gave an exhibition in aid of the leper settlement. He exhibited three military scenes of the late attempted revolution. Two were borne in silence; at the third, a subdued hissing began, and he hurried forward the programme.

This is the officer who was by invitation of the government the orator of the day at the first anniversary of the alleged republic. At a second stereopticon exhibition, his most elaborate illustration was that of the landing of a naval battalion in which United States troops were depicted marching and counter-marching in union with the Hawaiian standing army and the citizen's guard, the grand finale representing President Dole protected by their joint efforts and seated in official dignity under the wings of a powerful and friendly eagle. If object-teaching supplants with effectiveness the parrot-learned lesson, Hawaii is in a fair way to learn that the power which sustains the present oligarchy is located on the vessels of the United States Navy.

Misrepresentation of any kind is still considered a diplomatic necessity by the authorities here, and this policy dictates the general despatches and private letters of the provisionalists.

The solution of the financial, political, and race problems which is now most coveted by the wealthy class is that Hawaii should continue independent, but that the United States shall openly declare a protectorate; in other words, that a coming American President shall undo the work of Minister Blount.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION AND GENERAL AMNESTY

HONOLULU, April 28.

CHINESE immigration is to be revived in Hawaii, and contracts made for about 5,000 laborers, so as to return Japanese on the expiration of their contracts, restricting further arrivals from Japan to those who come on their own responsibility. The increasing importance of the Japanese question causes the appointment of a minister to that empire to be publicly advocated; a new treaty is much desired, but Japan being at the flush of success, Hawaii fears that too exacting conditions may be demanded. The position is now filled by a consular agent without pay, and as nothing is yet done for Thurston, it is possibly a move to provide for him. The existing treaty with Japan gives favored-nation privileges to her people; there is no treaty with China, but to return to Chinese immigration means to offend Japan, because there are stipulations to the contrary, and, further, the introduction of Chinese is offensive to the laboring class of Europeans.

The results of the foreign investigation into the legal jurisdiction of the recent court-martial are anxiously awaited by friends of the prisoners, who believe that the other powers should have insisted on jury trials, and by the government sympathizers, who cannot disabuse themselves of the notion that President Cleveland is treating with Great Britain for concerted and unfriendly action. Ex-Minister Thurston is supposed to advocate a general amnesty so as to disarm external criticism and insure against foreign intervention. Payment of the fine with a promise to leave the country would release any offenders. The influence of the natives deported to other islands is seditious by reason of their good behavior and the sympathy they have excited.

Reliable information has reached Honolulu of royalist meetings on Maui, better organized and more generally attended than ever, and a large shipment of arms has just gone to Lahaina to the citizens' guard. On four successive nights armed Honolulu police were detailed to watch

for landing of allies from abroad. It is now said that the government was justified in its fears, but incorrect as to the destination of the expedition; that the next demonstration will be a native revolt on other islands, and that forces being thus withdrawn from Honolulu, the place will be unprotected against a new uprising.

To show exactly how the government proposes to meet this emergency, the following extract is made from a press despatch to a newspaper in America which favors the Hawaiian oligarchy:

“The government has a force of 1,200 soldiers, fully armed and equipped, who could easily quell any uprising. Foreign filibusters would meet with little if any sympathy from the people on landing in the islands if they were able to get ashore. Landing would be a difficult performance, in view of the scarcity of roadsteads and good harbors in the waters surrounding the islands. Moreover, the United States man-of-war *Philadelphia*, which is lying at Honolulu, would, in case of trouble, send several hundred bluejackets ashore, and this force would be practically a supplement to the local regulars and constabulary. Colonel McLean, who has been recently selected to organize the Hawaiian army, will sail for Honolulu on May 2.”

A petition for a general amnesty was started and signed by natives and presented to President Dole on his birthday. That event was to have been celebrated by a public reception and general exchange of courtesies, but after official announcement had been made in the morning paper, all the orders were countermanded and a notice of the change posted. No explanation was given, but not a consular flag was displayed, no guns were fired, nor an official call made. Public rumor assigned the reason to be “strained diplomatic relations.”

The speech of Mr. Shearman, translated into the native language and put into circulation here, has excited warm interest among Hawaiians.

A MISCARRIED LETTER

HONOLULU, May 2.

THE evening prior to the departure of this mail, the government gave publicity to a strange story explanatory of the Thurston affair. The "Gaelic," from China, and the "Coptic," bound to Hong Kong, arrived here on April 30. The latter steamer brought a separate sealed bag for Minister Willis from the Washington Department of State. In this was a duplicate of the letter demanding the recall of Mr. Thurston. Then it was announced that the original went to Hong Kong by an error of the Postal Department at San Francisco, and that it was found on the "Gaelic." It was certainly delivered to Minister Willis, and its contents were by him officially communicated to the government here, upon which a session of the councils was called and held behind closed doors. No conclusion was reached, but the party organ says this morning that Minister Willis will remain, so far as this government is concerned; that no successor to Mr. Thurston will be appointed for the present, diplomatic affairs remaining in charge of Mr. Hastings, and that for Hawaii it is not a question now of what is justice in this affair, but rather what is the best policy.

The petition for general amnesty, carried to President Dole on his birthday by a native woman, was her individual work, and might have been dismissed as unimportant, but the discussion once started became warm in the councils, two members protesting against any lenity, while three, including Mr. Dole, favored clemency. Minister Thurston's advice, that, in order to stand well with the outside world, amnesty to those whose only offence was sympathy with the lost cause is desirable, added to the ferment, and words passed which were little short of a threatened disruption of the cabinet. There is scarcely a person imprisoned who was found with arms, and sympathy has never been a punishable offence.

Secretary Gresham's letter deciding the Bowler case utterly displeased the planters and merchants who have tried to maintain the opposite doctrine of dual citizenship, and is considered an indirect reply to one of these, the Mr. Jones who offered to pay an income tax. By this decision he and his associates can no longer claim that our navy must protect the

persons and property acquired in Hawaii, under favors received from its monarchs, often by reason of official connection with reigning powers. They would gladly release Bowler to reverse the decision.

On May 11 will take place a formidable local celebration of the victory of Japan over China. Over twenty thousand men have notified the planters that no work will be done on that day. Merchants of that nationality have contributed liberally in money, floats are being constructed representing the Japanese navy, and wooden guns and tin swords for the equipment of the miniature army. The government is constrained to permit salutes from the Japanese artillery, although excessively dreading a conflict with the Chinese population. The authorities cannot suppress the projected jubilee, therefore they will rely on two considerations: First, the placid disposition of all Chinamen abroad; second, the battalions of the "Philadelphia," which are constantly paraded here in full fighting trim. For fifty years our navy has been the Hawaiian standing army. It placed Kalakaua on the throne and unseated Liliuokalani, and it now keeps the oligarchy in power. Should our naval officers fraternize with political parties abroad, as they accept the most intimate special attention from members of the Hawaiian government here, should they reflect in official reports the sentiments and perhaps the exact language of wealthy residents scheming for a protectorate, the officers would be ordered home.

Pearl Harbor is totally indefensible, even if the long movable sand-bar were dredged. No salient point exists on which a fort could defend the entrance, nor is there anything to prevent the immediate obstruction of the channel by an enemy, and, with a fleet there shut up, the march of an army in the rear, on Honolulu. Its only apology is a real-estate speculation and increased naval power, or to secure an official protectorate without the disadvantages of annexation.

The press gives the ruling ring much trouble. On the abandoned plant of the royalist newspaper, a syndicate of sugar-barons are trying to organize a journal opposing annexation and advocating a protectorate. Another opposition journal is trimming betwixt disloyalty and safety, and still a third is republished in the native language on condition of excluding politics. Its editor is under a long-pending indictment, but he saves himself by copying matter already published in the city. In the Thurston and general amnesty affairs, there was serious trouble with the government press, but it was hushed up.

The British minister has received notice that two of the political prisoners must be considered subjects of this government. He declines to say what will be the next move of Great Britain.

RULE OF THE COUNCIL AND ITS EFFECT

HONOLULU, May 8.

THE most exciting topic here is the communication of British Commissioner Hawes holding that Rickard and Walker, the "insurgents," have not forfeited their citizenship. A long and secret session of the council was held afterward. The government make public the letter of Commissioner Hawes, but beyond stating that the claim will be contested, no further information is offered. Coming almost simultaneously with the action of the American Department of State, the British decision has proved equally annoying to the nineteen rulers here. If Secretary Gresham had sustained the principle of dual citizenship, although this might have given protection to prisoners, yet it would also have established a status for the American-born element which they have tried hard to maintain. Had the two decisions been interchanged, the Dole government would have met the diplomatic difficulty with far more cheerfulness.

President Dole has written a personal letter to the initiator of the native action for amnesty, declaring that it is the wish and intention of the government to show clemency, but that its exercise must be conditional on the interests of the community, on the conduct of the prisoners, and on the course of their friends. There are bitter complaints current here of the treatment of the natives who were exiled to a distant island. The native population is daily becoming morose and sullen. Annexation clubs and provisionalist oaths among the Hawaiians have been the most absolute failures. The great mass of the people are more strongly than ever attached to the native monarchy, and still look to the United States to right their nation's wrongs.

Minister Thurston has been a troublesome element ever since his return. A strange idea got current among the natives, namely, that, having been convinced that annexation had failed, he had now returned to make a compromise on the abdication of the late Queen in favor of Kaiulani, the English princess. It is certain that those in sympathy with the present movement have openly declared that, if there can be no

annexation or protectorate obtained, peace will be impossible save under some such agreement as that, since it is the only basis of peace and harmony. A prominent sympathizer declared in my hearing: "It is an impossibility, because the Saxon race never yet did yield to an inferior race, the rule once gained." This was the chief objection.

Numberless places are proposed to relieve the country of the presence of Mr. Thurston. The latest is that of commissioner of information, with an office at Washington. As a professed lobbyist, without diplomatic relations, it is urged that he can still manage the legation, the new minister having thus the benefit of his experience, while the commissioner will have more freedom in approaching members of Congress.

The rumor that the silver balance in the treasury is not exactly intact gains force by the fact that on May 1 the government openly advised that no further purchases would be made excepting on a credit of three or six months. Those holding claims are forced to raise the money already due by deposit of accounts duly approved at the bank, securing thus accommodations on collateral by paying interest at twelve per cent. per annum. From President Dole downward, even the supporters of the ruling ring are investing their surplus receipts outside the country. Attorneys for the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York are not satisfied that any judgment whatsoever of the local courts will be final, because their organization is contested as unconstitutional.

Mr. Carter, brother of the man of that name killed in the January riot, having declined to run, Mr. Robertson, late district attorney's assistant, was elected representative, receiving all the votes cast, only 111 in a district which has polled in the past nearly 2,000 votes. There was no interest whatsoever in the election, it being perfectly understood that the ring had placed in power one of its own creatures, a young man of twenty-six who resigned another office to take this one.

It is still doubtful whether the legislature is to be immediately convened, because the advisory council, consisting of fourteen members, being once dissolved, cannot be revived, and although some of these have seats in the legislature, yet it will double the numbers of the lower house to be manipulated by the remaining and upper five of the ring.

The government has succeeded in exiling both the Ashfords. The remaining brother, in a dying condition, leaves to-day, having, at the prayer of his family, acceded to any conditions; but the oath never to return is considered of little importance, because, if the country is to continue under its present despotism, no lover of freedom would wish to

return; while if any change for the better intervenes, the course of the nineteen will be repudiated and return will become a matter of personal choice.

Disinterested tourists arriving here are taken under the charge of provisionalist partisans, and every attention and courtesy is shown them. All the old absurd fictions about the Queen are repeated, and they are carefully guarded from opportunities to correct such impressions. Yet, almost with no exception, a residence of a month convinces them of the fraud of the so-called republic and excites sympathy for the disinherited and disfranchised Hawaiians.

For two years the Queen's band of forty members has refused to swear allegiance to the ring. The government has oppressed them in every way, even refusing them permission for public concerts. It now carries its animosity to the point of prohibiting them from playing a farewell to Hawaii on the dock. Spreckels has given them free passage to San Francisco, whence they may go to other parts of America, but they were obliged to get on board the steamer before giving their farewell music. The excitement attending their departure was intense; some three thousand natives were on the wharf, and the men were loaded with flowers. They are superior musicians, and sympathy for them is universal.

PEARL HARBOR

THERE is actually an international agreement of three great powers guaranteeing Hawaiian independence. It is this: By treaty of 1843, made in London, Great Britain and France bound each the other that neither would directly or under the form of protectorate possess the soil; then by the Americo-Hawaiian treaty of 1875, and its extensions, Hawaii is bound to refuse to a foreign power any lien upon its territory. It was this provision which obliged the present government to decline the proposal of England to make of Neekar Island a telegraph station. It may be said that this treaty can be abrogated. Granted; but it would be commercial suicide to Hawaii to submit its products to our tariff, and as twelve months' notice is specified, no advantage can be taken of the emergency of international questions.

The cession of Pearl Harbor to the United States was not in the original treaty; it was interpolated by Senator Edmunds, of Vermont, in the renewal of 1884, confirmed by the Senate in 1886, and then by diplomatic concord made part of the earlier stipulations. The provision was regarded with great disfavor by Hawaiians, because they are always jealous of the least infringement on their native right to the land. Mr. Cleveland was displeased both on account of his conservative foreign policy and because the business of the Senate was either to approve or disapprove, but not to amend, any treaty, and thus his prerogative was usurped. The only parties satisfied were those who to-day control the government in Honolulu, the sugar-barons and their friends.

No sea-going vessel, not even a coaster, is to be seen in Pearl Harbor. The first obstacle is the coral reef, which extends in a westerly direction from Diamond Head, past the port of Honolulu and the entrance to the long channel leading into the salt-water lakes of the harbor. Borings

of this reef by officers of our navy disclose the fact that sand-dredging rather than blasting will be necessary in order to make a ship-channel. This apparent advantage is counterpoised by the fact that rock once removed is not renewed, but sand can be washed into the entrance by the ocean just as easily as it can be pumped out by the dredge. In case of war a fleet could be shut up in the lakes by a manœuvre taking only the hours of one dark night, and at no more expense than the sinking of a few stone-laden steamers against which the sands would soon make an impassable barrier.

The channel, some three miles in length and nowhere much more than a quarter-mile in width, runs north and south, and can never be safely used by any vessel of size unaided by steam power. When the north-east trade wind is interrupted by southerly gales, the approaches to the harbor, by reason of the succession of reefs, would, for a full-powered steamer, be attended with great danger. Therefore, no ship in distress could be certain of meeting a friendly tug-boat.

About three-fourths of the distance from ocean to lake is the tongue of a peninsula, which divides the waters into at least two ports, in both of which there is a due proportion of deep and also of shallow water. It is quite doubtful whether either of these enclosed sheets of water would afford room for naval tactics, and certain that there are places where our long white boats could not even turn round, although lying in deep water and moored to the shore. Shoals, coral rocks, and spits are present here as in all other enclosures; and, while berths for vessels would be almost infinite in number, that the navies of the world could exchange compliments within its gates is far from true. The deepest water is in the long, narrow channels.

The spot to defend, providing the harbor were utilized, would be that which is dredged or blasted out on the outer reef. But how is this to be done? By building on the inner reefs of coral? A modern battle-ship with its heavy guns could knock stone forts over as if they were nine-pins. By earthworks on the land? For miles from the entrance there is no suitable elevation, even were one contented with, say, a height of ten feet, and the difference in tides is not more than two feet. Were the Washington government to declare its intention to utilize this cession, doubtless the end of the promontory and the spot known as Ford's Island would be sold to us at enormous prices; our national needs would be supplied by the real-estate speculators who have the control of the whole shore; in fact, deeds have passed where provision is made for an

increased consideration in case sale should be made to any foreign government.

Pearl City, so called, exists chiefly on paper. There are a few houses at one spot on the lagoons, an occasional lodge or seaside residence, the latter little more than a wooden tent; nothing even to approach in importance the suburb of Waikiki under the shadow of Diamond Head, distant some ten miles to the eastward. It is between these two points that is built the city of Honolulu, but by reason of its tortuous course it is fifteen miles by railway from this city to the Pearl Lochs.

This brief description of our proposed naval station is given as a proof that while Mr. Edmunds made a parliamentary stroke in securing the extension of the reciprocity treaty by this bait, Mr. Cleveland was perfectly justified in his disapproval ten years ago of that policy of "Jingoism," which of late finds such defenders as Mr. Lodge. Have we forgotten the rebuke consequent on our adoption of such a policy in Samoa, where our appearance in a protectorate made local troubles worse, our so-called coaling-station cost us three naval vessels and a large sacrifice of human life, and it would be impossible to say what has become of our gains?

But were Pearl Harbor far better adapted for naval purposes than it is at present, it is still true that the American people have no use for it. Even in the days when we had a large fleet of whale-ships and merchant-vessels in the Pacific Ocean, Honolulu and Lahaina were found to be convenient ports of call and proper stations for supplies; that which was true then is far more so to-day, because the ports of Hawaii are now in communication by steam with larger centres of distribution. But our whaling-fleet has gone, never to return. In the two months of my stay here, one whaling-vessel has touched at Honolulu. During the same time last year two came-to for provisions off the port. Of merchantmen, excepting the sugar-carriers, the statistics are of no more importance. In many cruises upon the sea between the coast of California and these islands, not a single sail will be encountered. And yet one of the arguments in favor of annexation or the improvement of Pearl Harbor is that, with the addition of a submarine cable, our ships would find it a convenient port of call for orders. Whose ships, and where are they? Orders to what end? Are the American people ignorant of the uncontested facts that we have no mercantile fleet cruising in the Pacific or any other ocean, and if we had, there would be no necessity of sending

them out over two thousand miles from our coast for orders of any nature?

But the coaling-station argument? The two lines of steamships under our flag passing Hawaii have never experienced the least difficulty in supplying their bunkers with coal at Honolulu, and the same is true of our naval steamers; the latter probably purchase coal at a far lower price than that which the government would pay if it entered the business as a competitor in this line. There is no necessity of ever sending any American man-of-war here, other than that of an occasional emergency just as liable to present itself in any other quarter of the globe. There is no greater fraud attempted on the people of the United States than that of assuming that there is American capital in these islands having a right to American protection. With the single exception of the money made in California and invested here by the firm of Spreckels & Co., scarcely one dollar of capital was ever brought here by those imperious sugar-barons who now so impudently call on us to protect them in troubles resulting from their own greed of gain and love of power. Twenty years ago these now haughty planters and proud mercantile houses were bankrupt. That monarchy which they malign came to their rescue, negotiated a treaty under which they raised sugar, imported coolie labor by which its proper cultivation was insured, even advancing capital, indirectly yet promptly, that they might through bankers' loans handle their crops, and leasing them valuable lands for a trifling rent. As a result of this favoritism shown to them by Hawaii, they became rich off Hawaiian soil and by royal favor. Now, stinging the hand that raised them out of ruin, they call the enormous wealth they have accumulated American capital.

Just here those who have involved us in an enormous outlay for the building of a vast fleet of steel and iron-clad steamboats will ask if Pearl Harbor would not be invaluable to us in case of war; they emphasize this question by reference to the colonization policy of Great Britain. Where one is forced to cross a stream, each stepping-stone is important; where one has nothing on the opposite bank, why should a half-way rock be needful? Great Britain is an empire of colonies. On her way from Victoria to New Zealand or Hong Kong, it might be convenient for her to have a basis of repairs and supplies at Honolulu. But in case of war, why should we withdraw our fleet from the protection of our western coast, and send our vessels two thousand miles to play hide and seek with each other in the numberless channels which divide these islands?

Concentration and not division is good generalship, yet men whose education should teach them better tactics advocate a policy in this problematic war only paralleled by that of supposing an army to be voluntarily separated by its leader into two sections with an impassable river rolling between the two detachments. Naval officers of high rank have advocated, in carefully prepared articles, the voluntary abandonment by Great Britain of the Mediterranean in case of war with continental powers. Were the Hawaiian islands to become American territory, the prudent course for us would be to immediately leave them to any fate rather than sap our own strength by herculean efforts to defend them. One swift gun-boat dodging in and out of these channels could defy the whole body of our naval police, burning plantations, while our efforts to hinder such destruction would only cripple our western coast defences and leave them an easy prey to a hostile fleet. Seamen cannot be made in a day, even where the use of steam has rendered much technical education a thing of the past. If a fleet large enough to defend Hawaii were built at once, where would be found the officers and men to man the vessels and work the guns?

Land speculation and desire for promotion — these two terms express all that there is in this hue and cry about Pearl Harbor. The speculators cannot be blamed, because the old caution of *caveat emptor* fully exonerates them. But the course of the naval officers of the United States is exactly that of trustees seeking their own gain rather than the good of those for whom they should be guardians. Hawaii is the naval officers' paradise. It has many of the charms of the Mediterranean station without the enormous expenses of the latter. With the airy modern-built steamboat moored on these beautiful waters, to which will come for the evening ball the beauty and wealth of Honolulu, with the most distinguished attentions not only to himself, but to his wife and daughters, at the palaces of the island princes ashore, it would be very strange if the naval officer did not become an enthusiastic annexationist, and a believer in the immediate improvement of Pearl Harbor. To report otherwise would be to discourage the very means by which he earns his income. To advise naval extension is, on the contrary, to make the delightful colony here larger, to give to other aspirants the opportunity to live royally on a limited scale of wages, and to help them up the ladder of promotion. Once yielding to the speculators and to their allies, the naval officers, the American people will find their treasury pledged to outlays for dredges, blasting-apparatus, fortifications,

lights, gunboats, arsenals on shore ; in short, they will too late discover that they have been betrayed into the clutches of a veritable old man of the sea, who has dragged not only the present generation into its depths, but entailed on posterity the woful consequences of departing from a policy which has kept us a peaceful, conservative nation amidst the foreign broils of the past century.

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